

No. 142

Spearhead

30p

**CAN THEY
REALLY**



BE BRITISH?

See pages 3 & 4

Nationalist comment

WHAT WE THINK

on the month's news

The path to ruin

With the unemployed edging up to 2 million and news of new lay-offs appearing daily, the Government is clearly desperate to find crumbs of comfort to offer a disillusioned electorate. Little wonder then that it is proclaiming as a triumph the fact that inflation is down to 16.9 per-cent!

This is of course no triumph at all, for under the financial system with which this country is saddled anyone can bring down the inflation rate if they are prepared to run down industry far enough and deliver enough people out of work. As we outlined in our February issue, Mrs. Thatcher's economic policies are becoming determined increasingly by the influence of the 'monetarist' fraud, a quack doctrine for the cure of inflation whose leading exponent is Dr. Milton Friedman. The 'monetarist' prescription is simple: inflation occurs because there is too much money in the

economy; withdraw money from the economy and inflation will fall. This is exactly what Mrs. Thatcher is doing.

The trouble with 'monetarism', and the thing that makes it a fraud, is that it does not acknowledge the factor which makes for "too much money" in the first place, i.e. the element of interest-bearing debt in all new money that is created. Were it not for this element, there would be no conflict between the two aims of preventing inflation and keeping down unemployment. Where the factories and workers are available to produce goods and the market exists to consume those goods, it is a simple matter to provide the money that will make possible that production and consumption. The money can simply be 'printed' by government and fed into the economy by any one of a variety of means. Such money need not be inflationary because it can serve to create new real wealth equal to its value.

Orthodox financial 'wisdom', however, does not permit this simple exercise. All flow of new money into the economy has to take place in the form of interest-bearing loans. As the money increases, so does the interest owing on it, and that interest gets written into prices. Hence inflation.

The present Government, which, like its Opposition, has not the faintest idea of basic monetary principles, can see no better remedy to inflation than to order a drastic cut in the money supply, i.e. the money that is lent into the economy at interest. Of course the result of this is that inflation comes down — but not for the reasons that Mrs. Thatcher thinks (or claims) it is coming down. It comes down because, just momentarily, there is less of an increase in the amount of interest owing



THATCHER
Leading to disaster

to the banks that have created the money as loans. On the other hand, the process means that the producer and consumer — the backbone of any economy — are starved of money. There is not enough to invest and there is not enough to buy. Factories stop their machinery and workers are laid off.

In the British economy this process of run-down is accelerated by the dangerously high import-export level at which we operate. The Government has closed its mind — because it runs contrary to all established Tory dogma — to the idea of import controls. As a result, the British market is being simply deluged with foreign manufactured goods. British industry, being much less home-market based than those of its rivals like Germany and Japan, must therefore export or perish to an extent never equalled before. And with the Pound kept artificially high by North Sea oil, it finds itself priced more and more out of world markets.

Presiding over this Catch 22 situation is a Tory Government that has lost all control of the economic destiny of the nation — among other reasons because the very word 'control' is not permitted to exist in its economic vocabulary. Is it not an article of modern Tory faith that there should be no control, or at least as little as possible, and that market forces should be left to themselves to work out our salvation?

So what is the best comfort that Mrs. Thatcher can offer the growing legions of the workless? That they must just put up with their lot until the Government's strategy for dealing with inflation has gone its full course — or else, as the Prime Minister told workers in Wales recently, uproot

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themselves and move to new areas where employment opportunities were more favourable!

This is all sheer economic flat-earthism. The correct policy for the Government to pursue lies along wholly different lines.

Firstly, it should make a declaration of commitment to economic nationalism, whereby the British market for manufactured goods will be progressively closed to foreigners and British industry organised and built up to fill the gap. Then, making an assessment of what increased production and consumption this will make possible, it should ensure an equivalent flow of new money into the economy by the simple process of issuing it interest-free — by the best method available, which is the financing of public expenditure.

This will mean that British industry will become less dependent on the uncertain export market for its survival, while at the same time being better able to compete in that market by reason of an assured home market getting production up and production costs correspondingly down.

Two things above all stand in the way of this programme for national recovery. These are the commitment on the part of the Government to obsolete doctrines of finance and equally obsolete doctrines of trade. We might add a third thing, which is British membership of the Common Market, which, while it exists, does not permit us to take the necessary and obvious measures of industrial protection that are needed to save our industries from ruin.

Until the Government is prepared to discard these obsolete commitments — which it shows no signs of doing — it is going to lead this country and its people to ever greater poverty, misery and chaos.

Having it both ways

Printed on the front cover of this issue is a photograph of some Black children attending a London school. With the photograph we put the question: "Can they really be British?"

It is a question that would of course excite great anger on the part of every good multi-racialist and practitioner of the race relations industry. "Of course they are British!", such people would exclaim. "They were born in this country and have lived here all their young lives. What else could they be?"

In answer to this question, we should say a little more about the children in the picture. They are in fact part of a group of Black youngsters who last Summer went on a sponsored trip to Trinidad and Tobago organised by a multi-racial voluntary organisation in Hackney called 'Mixifren'. The purpose of the trip was "to give the

children a greater sense of their own history and identity".

Now giving to children a greater sense of their own history and identity is the very last ideal with which this journal would quarrel — in general principle at least. Is it not immediately obvious though that in this case there is a contradiction between the trip sponsored for that purpose and the claim that the children concerned are British? If they really were British, surely they would be sent on outings, not to Trinidad and Tobago, but to Stonehenge, Hastings, Windsor, Winchester or Canterbury.

In the act of sending them to the West Indies in search of their "history and identity", has not the organisation referred to acknowledged in fact that their history and identity are West Indian?

The trouble with these multi-racialists is that they want it both ways. It all reminds one of the story of the Black man who was West Indian when he watched the West Indies play England at the Oval on Thursday but British when he collected his Social Security cheque on Friday!

Bologna: who gains?

The appalling bomb outrage in Bologna which killed 82 people has understandably earned the total condemnation of the whole civilised world.

It is a little strange, however, that in the subsequent reports and articles that have been written no-one seems to question the popular assumption that the bombing was the work of a 'right-wing' or 'Fascist' terror group.

The basis on which this assumption rests is a telephone message purporting to come from the group concerned and claiming responsibility for the bombing. That is all.

Surely the first question that we should ask ourselves about this incident is the primary one facing any police investigator: cui bono (who gains)?

It is rather difficult to see how the far right, or 'Fascism', derives any profit from having itself associated with such an atrocity. On the other hand, it is not difficult to recognise the profit that can accrue to its opponents on the left. Bologna is Italy's foremost Communist city, having had a red-dominated council ever since the end of World War II. The local red mandarins lost no time in exploiting the tragedy in an extravagantly staged funeral rally held in the city centre, with the predictable speeches of hate against the 'Fascist' killers.

Equally predictable is that the bombing could be used as the pretext for a campaign of legal suppression conducted against nationalist political groups.

As this copy goes to print the true facts concerning responsibility for the outrage

have not yet been established. The facts may in due course prove the popular theory as to guilt to be correct.

If this happens, there is one thing of which we may be sure: Bologna and the background to it will become the subject of a massive world-wide publicity drive, promoted and orchestrated by the world's mass media.

If, on the other hand, it is established that the bombing was staged by Communists with a view to lumbering the right with the blame, the affair will be quickly forgotten.

Not off the old block

Appearing in August in the correspondence columns of the Daily Telegraph was one of the most pathetic letters that it has ever been our misfortune to read.

The letter was written by a Miss Elinor Rhodes, who claimed to be a descendant of Cecil Rhodes. Cecil Rhodes, the letter said, "would not mourn at the birth of Zimbabwe; rather would he deplore the lack of vision of some who followed him, and especially the needless bloodshed precipitated by UDI".

The letter continued: "I hope one day to meet Mr. Robert Mugabe who — like Cecil Rhodes — is a great man."

Miss Rhodes is clearly not well up on her family history — any more than she is well up on British history. Otherwise she would know that foremost among the beliefs of her famous ancestor was his belief in the primacy of the Anglo-Saxon race. It was his wish that this race should reign supreme over North America, Australasia and large parts of Asia and Africa, including of course the country to which he gave his name. The very idea that that country should ever become known as 'Zimbabwe' and be ruled by a Black gangster like Mugabe would have filled him with horror.

Miss Rhodes' letter was written after, and presumably in full knowledge of, the pulling down of Cecil Rhodes' statue in Salisbury by Mugabe's thugs and their subsequent attempt (unsuccessful) to hack it to pieces. This did not, however, dissuade the lady from proclaiming Mugabe "a great man".

People like Elinor Rhodes sometimes seem stranger than fiction. It is almost as if she had stepped straight out of the Peter Simple column into real life — exceeding even the imagination of that superb satirist as a specimen of decadent contemporary liberalism and its grovelling infatuation with 'emergent' Africa.

How is it that a stock which produced such a towering pioneer of empire could produce the likes of Miss Elinor? That is one of the riddles that cause geneticists habitually to scratch their heads.

What is 'British'? Recently the Government decided that it must answer this question and to this end it produced a White Paper which attempted to give an up-to-date definition of British nationality.

The proposals made in the White Paper, drawn up under the offices of Home Secretary Willie Whitelaw, are inept in the extreme, and come nowhere near any criterion of nationality adequate to this country's needs.

The Paper proposes three distinct categories of citizenship: Firstly, British Citizens: meaning all citizens of the United Kingdom with close personal connections with the United Kingdom — in general terms those who were born, adopted, naturalised or registered in the United Kingdom; those whose parents or grandparents qualify in this way; and those citizens who have been settled in Britain for some time.

Secondly, Citizens of British Dependent Territories, some three million people, most of whom live in Hong Kong, who would enjoy the same rights in their own territories as British citizens would have in Britain.

Thirdly, British Overseas Citizens: residents of former colonies — notably Malaya and East Africa — who have retained their nationality, together with a small number of people with distant ancestral connection with Britain.

It is made clear by the Government that the proposals in the White Paper do not deprive anyone in Britain of the right to stay here or remove from any identifiable group the right of entry — whatever that may mean!

FARCICAL

The conception of the first category, British Citizens, is quite farcical for a start. "Those who were born, adopted, naturalised or registered in the United Kingdom" could mean just about anybody. It means practically the whole of the present coloured immigrant population — plus an incalculable number of people who may qualify for adoption, naturalisation or registration in the future, quite irrespective of whether ethnically they are suitable members of the British nation or not.

The second and third categories are quite ludicrous. On the one hand they speak of including citizens of British dependent territories and former colonies — almost all of which are of non-British race — and on the other hand they mention "a small number of people

WHAT IS BRITISH?

with distant ancestral connection with Britain". Small number! In fact there are at least 100 million people around the world, mainly in the White Commonwealth, Southern Africa, and the United States, who are of mainly British descent — plus God knows how many millions more who are of partial British descent. What small number is the Government talking about?

Of these three categories, only those belonging to the first will have automatic right to live here — which straightaway puts several million Black and Brown immigrants and their offspring now living in this country in a superior class of citizenship to people of pure British stock living overseas who might want to settle here in the future.

In place of these perfectly inane definitions of citizenship and of what is British, let us propose some alternative definitions. But first let us preface these by stipulating the very basics on which a nation should be choosing who will, and will not, live within its borders. These are threefold.

The first basic is that of **population quality**. A nation should surely wish to have the best kind of people that it can: best in intelligence, character, industry, creativity, physical health and beauty.

The second basic is that the people of a nation should be of the kind that can **identify** with that nation; that they should feel and be part of its history, its culture, its customs, its traditions and its way of life; that they should be bound to it in sentiment and prepared if need be to fight for it.

Not to every nation in the world are these two basics compatible but it is fortunate for us that they are thoroughly compatible in the case of Britain; if the population of Britain meets the second of these criteria, it is likely that, as much as that of any nation in the world, it will also meet the first. In the stocks truly indigenous to the British Isles there is an aggregate of all the racial qualities at least equal to that of any nation on earth.

Our definition of who is, or who may become, British should therefore be a simple one based on ethnic foundations.

There is a third basic that applies to Britain, though not to all countries. This has to do with national policy with regard to the outside world. It should hardly need stating that it is a paramount British interest to strengthen, not weaken, our ties with peoples of British stock living overseas. Vital to the strength of these ties must be the feeling that we give to these people that Britain is their Motherland and that they should be able to come and go from, and settle in, this country as they wish. Ideally in fact we should make no distinctions in status between Anglo-Saxons (or Celts) living overseas and those living in this country.

Obviously should the whole 100 million 'Anglos' overseas, or any substantial part thereof, want to come and live in the UK we would have to call a halt on the grounds of intolerable overcrowding! This, however, is a hypothesis so wild and way out that there is no need to contemplate it. At no point is it likely that such people would wish to settle in this country in numbers that would provide us with a problem. There is therefore no practical need to place any limits on their entry and many practical reasons for not doing so.

ADDITIONAL GROUPS

There are additional population groups which in most cases meet the stipulated first basic criterion of race quality but not the latter criteria of ties of attachment to Britain. We are speaking here of people of closely related White European stocks. These can be assimilated within the British population without any genetic deterioration and there is therefore no reason whatever to reject them on those grounds. In view of the limited capacity of the United Kingdom to absorb any great population increase, and in view of the prior claim to settlement that should be given to people of British stock, it would be impractical to offer other Europeans absolutely unrestricted access. On the other hand, applications by such people to live in Britain for marriage or career reasons should generally be granted.

The proposition that we should henceforth define British nationality on an ethnic basis, and not on the basis of legalistic criteria dating from a colonial empire that we have long ceased to rule, will doubtless provoke screams of protest. It is, however, the only sane policy for national survival.

AT THIS VERY MOMENT nearly a quarter of a million White men and women are living beneath the African skies in Rhodesia. At their disposal is equipment for 100,000 fighting men, 100 jet planes, 50 tanks, artillery and tens of thousands of loyal tribesmen.

Facing them stands a fanatical marxist, imbued with a terrible hatred of all White men and backed by a rabble of undisciplined savages.

significantly the principal complaint was that Rhodesians were not allowed by the Smith Government to hit back at the guerrillas.

Since sanctions and guerilla war were the only real pressures that the external powers could bring to bear on Rhodesia, where then were these pressures that, according to many of my readers and sister journals, brought Rhodesia down?

The cause then does not lie in pressures

covered that he had left the old United Federal Party because it was not left-wing enough — something revealed by the press as well. I remember how Smith himself had to be dragged into UDI by the rest of his Cabinet, so even then I was highly suspicious.

During the years that followed, a pattern emerged familiar to many of my readers. All independently minded individuals in the Cabinet and public life, from

WHY RHODESIA FELL

Is this tower of White strength pulverising the marxist rabble? From from it! It is meekly surrendering its weapons, preparing to try living in submission to Marxist rule, or preparing to abandon all its possessions and flee.

That, my dear readers, is what it is all about. Rhodesia did not fall because President Carter put pressure on it. It did not fall because Mrs. Thatcher, reputedly under pressure from Lord Carrington and The Queen, refused to support Muzorewa. It did not fall because of lack of support from South Africa. It did not even fall because the guerilla war had become too much.

It fell quite simply because the vast majority of White Rhodesians had, in every election and referendum since 1970, voted for politicians determined to surrender and for constitutions leading gradually to Black rule, and rejected, not only by votes but with violence, those politicians and political parties which advocated resistance.

Finally of course, it fell because faced with a red fanatic elected by a majority of terrorised tribespeople, the Rhodesian Whites meekly surrendered without one single act of resistance anywhere in the country.

Sanctions had not destroyed Rhodesia's economy; on the contrary, they had forced it into a self-contained one, freed from such diseases of the international financial system as inflation and "export or die". Only in the last two years did the Smith Government deliberately run down the economy and bankrupt the small businesses by calling in credit — as a means of democratising its own populace.

Guerrilla war did not defeat Rhodesia —



WHITE RHODESIAN SOLDIER RESTS IN THE BUSH
Does his expression betray the question: "What am I fighting for?"

from outside Rhodesia but in much deeper factors. To see these things in context it is necessary to look back at the 15 years from UDI and their effect upon the Rhodesians.

PATTERN BEFORE U.D.I.

I clearly remember the pattern that led up to UDI. Since the war Rhodesia had had six prime ministers, either Federal or Southern Rhodesian. Each had been privately in favour of Black rule. Each was kicked out by White Rhodesians when this was discovered. Ian Smith came along in 1964 and it was not until 1979 that I dis-

covered that he had left the old United Federal Party because it was not left-wing enough — something revealed by the press as well. I remember how Smith himself had to be dragged into UDI by the rest of his Cabinet, so even then I was highly suspicious. During the years that followed, a pattern emerged familiar to many of my readers. All independently minded individuals in the Cabinet and public life, from Lord Graham to John Gaunt, were ruthlessly purged. All government propaganda was designed to undermine White confidence — not to sustain or uplift it. Finally, in the last years a number of anti-government figures trying to organise White resistance died in mysterious 'accidents' which left our sister journals in Southern Africa in no doubt that they had been murdered by the security forces. It is highly significant that those specialised units of the Rhodesian Police suspected of having organised these murders now work actively for Mugabe.

Contd. overleaf

WHY RHODESIA FELL

(Contd. from previous page)

If one asked the Rhodesian whether he envisaged Black rule, he would always reply that he did — but centuries away, when the Black man had been brought up to the level of the White. The Rhodesian failed to see that once he had conceded the **principle** of Black rule, two things followed. Firstly, if the ultimate principle was accepted, then the time scale was only a matter of argument; secondly, if the ultimate aim was not a White-ruled state, then the White man had no future in Africa.

In the final stages came the acceptance of Black rule with the so-called 'moderate' Bishop Muzorewa. At this point it is useful to slap down firmly one 'conservative' delusion. Black rule is Black rule — if you are a White man. Those who built Rhodesia from nothing tried to build a White nation, not a haven for boozing expatriates drawing salaries from a Black nation. Once Black rule came, it mattered little to any man of pride or patriotism whether Muzorewa or Mugabe ruled — because Rhodesia was **dead**. There was nothing left to fight for, let alone to die for.

The final ignominious collapse followed inescapably from the surrender to Muzorewa. What can be said about the final surrender was that in the case of Muzorewa the Whites could delude themselves. There is no excuse for those who delude themselves about Mugabe.

Throughout all this period White Rhodesians, barring a small and honourable minority, acquiesced in, and indeed enthusiastically supported, all that happened.

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER

Among those acquiescing was an element of about 15 per-cent, drawn from the upper farming, business and professional classes. The great majority of these classes called increasingly for unconditional surrender to marxism because they thought it was the only thing that would enable their 'gin and jag' set to booze in peace in the sun, and spare those classes from the thing they find most unbearable: conflict. A mixture of limousine liberalism, crass materialism and horror of conflict had totally rotted most of the higher classes of Rhodesia.

What one really needs to look at is how the great majority of Rhodesians came meekly to surrender. Our sister magazine in Southern Africa attributes the cause to blind solidarity in the face of external conflict. I do not accept this. If Churchill had pressed for unconditional surrender in 1940 people and Parliament alike would have torn him limb-from-limb.

In a sense there was another solidarity.

Ian Smith and White Rhodesians shared as one those very weaknesses in the British character which, as I hope to show, really underlay Rhodesia's fall.

Rhodesia, above all things, was British of the British, and it is to our weaknesses that we must look to see why she fell. In my view, these weaknesses were a basic political attitude of liberalism, a tradition of blind obedience to established authority, the crass materialism of most of the higher classes and a lack of appreciation of why the White man was really in Rhodesia.

The basic sense of liberalism was one that most affected the higher educated classes and by itself it would not have been decisive. It did, however, lead to a situation where resistance was handicapped by the very fact that much of the natural leadership was in the enemy camp. Liberalism was particularly strong among the women of the higher classes and tended to manifest itself in that attitude of mind, summed up by Correlli Barnett in The Collapse of British Power, when he attributed Britain's downfall to her educated classes who not only thought the world **ought** to be a drawing room where reasonable men and women settled their differences by civilised discussion but actually thought it **was**. Taine, in his French Revolution, attributed that revolution essentially to a failure of will on the part of the governing classes who lacked the stomach to shed blood. Liberalism is too simple a word to describe this attitude in Rhodesia's establishment. It is a mixture of Liberalism, egalitarianism and Christian pacifism gone mad.

A far more serious factor was the tradition of blind obedience to authority. The bulk of longer settled Rhodesians came from backgrounds of Tory/Liberal England, where decent chaps do not "rock the boat", and where electorates confine themselves to switching their allegiance between those parties acceptable to the establishment. When parties sprang up in Rhodesia with views which challenged the establishment, the vast majority of Rhodesians blindly echoed the establishment and said: "We cannot vote for extremists!" It was alright to vote for the extinction of one's children in a Black nation — as that was not put forward by 'extremists'; it was not acceptable to vote against the extinction of one's children — because only 'extremists' were active against this!

Looking back, I thought that because Rhodesians had kicked out six previous pro-Black prime ministers they would kick Smith out. The reason they did not was, in my view, because on every previous occasion one establishment prime minister was replaced by another. To kick Smith out would mean kicking the establishment out — and any decent chap would prefer to have his children's throats slit rather than

do that!

The third factor was the demoralisation caused by crass materialism. Too many Rhodesians were in the country for an easy life in the sun; not enough were there because they wanted to build a nation. The war was fought to a background of a rocketing divorce rate, hardly conducive to the morale of the men at the front. In a sense this brings out the fact that you cannot fight a war against liberalism abroad without extirpating it at home. Men cannot fight unhesitatingly at the front if the legal and social system, and the moral climate, easily accepts their wives running off with those who are not at the front.

The whole spirit was summed up in the Observer report of the 13th April 1980, when an army reservist was quoted as saying:-

"For me they can have any wog government they want so long as they stay out of our social clubs."

The report continued:-

"Middle-aged Whites are unanimous that so long as Mugabe 'leaves us alone', allowing access to private medicine and private education, 'we'll wait and see'."

In other words, what mattered was luxury living, not having one's own country.

Finally there was the lack of understanding that if the White man was not in Africa to build a White nation then he could only live as an expatriate or become a White-skinned Negro. He had the choice only of being master or servant.

GREATEST CRIME

Lack of understanding, however, cannot justify the commission by the vast majority of Rhodesians of the greatest crime any human being can commit — a crime committed by no other people in history. They knowingly voted to destroy their own children by electing to submit them to a Black rule which, at the very best, would mean their growing up as White-skinned Negroes in a Negro culture. They knowingly, and without one act of resistance anywhere in the country, submitted to the horrors of terrorist rule their children, their old people and the war cripples in their hospitals. The naive but almost universal belief that a demonstration of 'moderation' would bring Western support showed an utter lack of understanding of the real world they lived in. No other nation or people in history committed so gross an act of betrayal. It is no use patriotic journals eulogising White Rhodesians as fine chaps who played rugby and cricket — that does not excuse them. There are not a few English-speaking South African sportsmen who go and

Contd. on opposite page

WHY RHODESIA FELL (Contd. from previous page)

play in Black teams to show their solidarity with the 'oppressed'.

Very soon these betrayers of their children will not even have their boozing in the sun to console them — but I doubt not that they will still be mouthing Rhodesia's epitaph: "Good old Smithy"!

JAMES CROSSBOW

This is a reproduction, slightly abridged, of an article first printed in ON TARGET, of 26 Meadow Lane, Sudbury, Suffolk, to which we make our acknowledgements

EDITOR'S NOTE

We have reprinted this article because we think it one of the very best that has yet appeared as an analysis of the cause of Rhodesia's collapse.

The article highlights in particular the inadequacy of 'conservatism', albeit the best type of conservatism, as an ideology to rally the forces of patriotic resistance in the White nations. Precisely because the Rhodesians were good conservatives, and formed their political thoughts according to traditional conservative criteria, they had no real understanding of why they were in Africa and what they had to do when their position there was under threat. Their experience demonstrates what this journal has always proclaimed: that only by a new and revolutionary political faith can Western Man survive and recover.

The White Rhodesians comprised perhaps the best racial stock to be found anywhere on earth, with an exceptionally high IQ level and physical courage to boot. They fell because they lacked this revolutionary faith.

The race factor in space flight

THE ROAD TO INFINITY

*In Stahl gehüllt
vom Strahl umwittert
die Schar, die Reich um Reich zerbrach
sie treten auf,
die Erde schüttert
sie schreiten fort, es donnert nach!*
Goethe -- Faust

In July 1969, the U.S. landed two men on the moon — perhaps the supreme achievement of human history. Yet its actual significance has been almost universally misunderstood, both then and now. Liberal-minority pundits have continued to denounce the entire space program with howls strangely reminiscent of the antispace enthusiast in H.G. Wells's *Things to Come* (1936): "We shall hate you more if you succeed than if you fail."

The *New York Times* commemorated the moon landing with an entire page of commentary solicited from various opinion molders. Some, like Henry Ford II, praised the venture in qualified terms, then quickly added: "We can master the problems of our cities just as we have mastered the challenge of space."

Medgar Evers, the Deep South black, was more to the point: "The billions of dollars being spent on this moon exploration program means that it will be even longer before America begins to keep her promises to the poor."

The American Majority was reaching out for the stars, but American Negroes, descendants of a people that could never even figure out how to make a wheel, wanted to clip its wings. If there is no other argument for the separation of races, this one is enough.

Northern Europeans seem almost genetically programmed for exploration and development. In historical times, Nordic tribes exploded from dark Teutonic forests, overran most of Europe, and in less than 2,000 years literally conquered the world. Other races may wander blindly when the hunting or the berries give out where they have settled, but only Northern European man has an incurable intellectual itch not only to

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see but understand what lies over the next hill.

The idea of spaceflight has been lurking around the edges of Western thought for centuries, ever since it occurred to philosophers that the lights in the sky could be worlds like this one. Two developments concretized it: one was the closing of the last frontiers on earth, which could only numb the spirit of the one race that needs frontiers for psychic health; the other was the invention of the technology that made leaving earth possible.

It was early recognized that rockets were the only possible means of getting into space, barring an unexpected breakthrough like the gravity-screening "Cavorite" in Wells's *First Men in the Moon* (1901). The giant cannon so plausibly described by Jules Verne in *De la Terre à la Lune* (1865) had some serious drawbacks. If the shell was powerful enough to be fired at escape velocity, the astronauts inside would have been smashed to smithereens. The rocket, on the other hand, had a much better chance of success. The pioneering work was done by a Russian (Konstantin Tsiolkovsky), a German (Hermann Oberth) and a Majority American (Robert Goddard). "Earth," Tsiolkovsky once said, "is the cradle of mankind, but one does not stay in a cradle forever."

GERMAN LEAD

Little attention was paid to amateur rocket hobbyists until 1932, when the German Army took an interest in rockets because they were not expressly forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles. On the basis of a demonstration by several members of the *Verein für Raumschiffahrt* (Society for Space Travel), a group of rocketry enthusiasts, the *Waffenprüfamt* (Army Weapons Office, Test Section) hired one of the hobbyists, a doctoral candidate named Wernher von Braun. That

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THE ROAD TO INFINITY

(Contd. from previous page)

led eventually to Peenemünde and the V-2. Suddenly the world took rockets very seriously. Unfortunately for the Third Reich, Hitler did not. Der Führer did not believe the V-2 could cross the English Channel, and so did not support the rocket program as much as he might have, or at least not until it was too late to change the course of the war.

Towards the end of World War II, von Braun was arrested by the Gestapo, partly because he had been overheard making comments that indicated he was more interested in sending rockets to the moon than to London: "Oh yes, we shall get to the moon -- but of course I don't dare tell Hitler yet." His incarceration was brief and he was quickly released once his superiors made it clear that he was indispensable to the war effort. When Germany collapsed, von Braun and most of his colleagues arranged to surrender to the Americans. The torch passed out of northern Europe.

Although the U.S. had secured the top German minds in rocket science, it proceeded to keep them on ice for the next several years. The Russians succeeded not only in capturing most of the smaller fry but also vast amounts of hardware, including the enormous underground V-2 plant at Nordhausen. They lost no time exploiting their booty. The successful orbiting of Sputnik in 1957 should have surprised no one, but the shock did serve to jar Americans out of their apathy.

On May 25, 1961, less than three weeks after the U.S. had launched its first man into space on a suborbital flight that lasted only a few minutes, Kennedy announced: "I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to earth." Kennedy's real motive may have been less idealistic. He needed something to salvage his reputation after the Bay of Pigs disaster. Nevertheless, it was a popular decision, and Congress enthusiastically appropriated the necessary billions. The country was prosperous; Viet Nam was no more than a distant rumble; and the liberals and minorities had been bought off with the porkbarrel social programs of the new Frontier.

On the right, opinion was split. The pro side of the issue was masterfully summed up by Willis Carto in his introduction to the 1962 edition of Francis Parker Yockey's *Imperium*:

No longer is the drive toward infinity and largeness held back by earthly boundaries. Now, in fact, we have infinity at our elbow Barring calamity caused by universal physical or biological destruction, we are now headed for the stars, and there is no power in heaven or earth to stop us. Coming days will see the present drive for Space magnified a thousandfold -- a millionfold. All limits to the possibility of expansion have disappeared. Geographical expansion on Earth is senseless -- and worse than senseless -- it is suicide. The Frontier has come back -- a Frontier that can never be dissipated.

The con side was heard from sesquipedalian conservative oracle William F. Buckley, whose column for June 1, 1963, was entitled: "The Moon and Bust?" Buckley was doubtful

about the Apollo program because it seemed to have no immediate economic or military value. Even if the Russians did beat us to the moon, he said, "can't we say, with composure at that crowded session of the United Nations: Very well, you have reached the moon, but meanwhile, here in America we have been trying, however clumsily, to spread freedom and justice." How long did Buckley expect his Sunday School pieties to have any meaning in America once the Soviet Union gained the upper hand in space?

However, as the 1960s wore on the space race became rather one-sided as the Russians seemed to sag. Substantial information is slight, but what has trickled out of the USSR indicates that its initial successes in space were due largely to a guiding genius named Sergei Korolyov, a Ukrainian engineer and a former inmate of Stalin's Gulag. Korolyov was another dreamer in the best tradition of Tsiolkovsky. When he and his team launched the first Sputnik, he told his colleagues: "Tonight the dreams of the best sons of mankind have come true. The road to space is open!" Standing athwart the road to space, however, was the pudgy figure of Nikita Khrushchev, who was primarily interested in space missions for their stunt value. After Korolyov died in 1967, the U.S. pulled way ahead, only to find a new rival -- Zambia!

THE AFRICAN CONTRIBUTION

According to a news report dated November 3, 1964, (and mentioned in British astronomer Patrick Moore's book, *Can You Speak Venusian?* London, 1972), "America and Russia may lose the race to the moon" to Zambia. This somewhat startling claim was attributed to Edward Mukaka Nkoloso, "Director-General of the Zambia National Academy of Space Research." Nkoloso, who claimed to have ten Zambian astronauts and a seventeen-year-old African girl poised for the countdown, was quoted as follows:

I'll have my first Zambian astronaut on the moon by 1965. My spacemen are ready, but we're having a few difficulties . . . we are using my own firing system, derived from the catapult

To really get going we need about seven hundred million pounds. It sounds [like] a lot of money, but imagine the prestige value it would earn for Zambia! But I've had trouble with my space-men and space-women. They won't concentrate on space-flight; there's too much love-making when they should be studying the Moon. Matha Mwamba, the seventeen-year-old girl who has been chosen to be the first coloured woman on Mars, has also to feed her ten cats, who will be her companions on the long space flight I'm getting them acclimatized to space-travel by placing them in my space capsule every day. It's a 40-gallon oil drum in which they sit, and I then roll them down a hill. This gives them the feeling of rushing through space. I also make them swing from the end of a long rope. When they reach the highest point, I cut the rope. This produces the feeling of free fall.

Before the 1960s, serious speculation about space travel usually assumed a manned station would be constructed in orbit before the first moon flight took place. The lunar landing was not to be the sole purpose of the move into space, but

rather one of a series of naturally progressive steps, the most important being the first one: building the space station and establishing a *permanent* presence in space. As space scientist Dr. Jerry Pournelle has noted, "Once you are in orbit, you are halfway to anywhere." The major part of the fuel is consumed while getting off the ground and into orbit, where the energy requirement for going on to the moon or beyond is relatively low. The moonship itself could be constructed in orbit. It would never land, merely functioning as a shuttle to transfer landing craft from earth orbit to lunar orbit and back again. Colonies would be established on the moon and supplied from earth until they were self-sufficient. Back in earth orbit, more space stations would be built to contain factories, hotels, hospitals and military installations. The guiding principle would be that each successive step would be firmly based on the preceding one. Man would be in space to stay and economic exploitation would follow close on the heels of research and exploration.

But the Kennedy program bypassed all of the necessary first steps in its rush to get a man on the moon as quickly as possible.

For any kind of economic development of space, an inexpensive and reusable system for launching crews and cargo into earth orbit is urgently needed. Awesomely expensive rockets used once and then thrown away ("self-destruct totem poles" in Pournelle's phrase) are not cost-effective. That is why the Dyna-Soar project was on the drawing boards in the late 1950's. But Dyna-Soar was scuttled and was not to be revived until the 1970's as the Space Shuttle. No permanent manned space stations were built in orbit. No permanent manned base was established on the moon.

POSITIVE RESULTS

Still, there were positive results from Apollo. The several missions collected a great deal of valuable scientific data and performed useful experiments. So much concentrated research and development led to an enormous technological spinoff into other areas. Even more important was the feeling of triumphant accomplishment. German and American Majority scientists, engineers, and technicians had worked together to achieve something beyond anything ever done before. Mentalities limited to daycare centers and welfare checks could only fret and fume. The moon landings demonstrated all too clearly that the Northern Europeans were cut out for a destiny far greater than that of other humans.

Anthony Jacobs' article, "NASA," in *Instauration* (July 1978) is a revealing study of how the immediate liberal-minority reaction to the moon landing was first a frantic attempt to denigrate it as a waste. Then, when it couldn't be effectively downgraded, equal credit was accorded to every featherless biped on Earth. Not far behind were demands that minorities be represented on future flights.

Why the moon flights were crewed exclusively by American Majority males was given the hypocritical and fraudulent explanation accorded to all racial matters. Astronaut Michael Collins claimed in his autobiography *Carrying the Fire* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1974) that the absence of blacks was sheer

happenstance: "NASA should have had them, our group would have welcomed them, and I don't know why none [applied to be astronauts]. Perhaps there simply weren't any who had the flying/educational backgrounds required, or perhaps they were more interested in other careers."

Today NASA has bowed to pervasive minority racism. The announced Space Shuttle crews are a human zoo of minority groups in just the right percentages of each.

It is true the billions of dollars spent on Apollo could have been spent on the "cities" as the liberals and minorities wanted, but there would have been no moon landing, no spinoff technology, no glorious achievement to remind us of who we are and what we can be. Just more blacks.

After several Apollo flights, interest in space flagged. NASA proposals for regular moon flights, a lunar base, and a manned expedition to Mars in the 1980s were turned down. NASA became a holding operation, concentrating on unmanned missions such as the Viking landing on Mars and the flybys of Jupiter and Saturn. Engineers and scientists were laid off in the aerospace industry by the droves. Even Wernher von Braun retired from NASA in 1972. In the book, *The Rocket Team* (Crowell, 1979), Dr. Charles Sheldon, former White House staff member on the National Aeronautics and Space Council, is quoted as saying, "There was always a lingering resentment at the Washington end toward von Braun and his team. There were always rumors that von Braun would someday be head of NASA. But there is a great sensitivity in Washington about racial and ethnic interests . . . Von Braun would never be given a political position." Although Sheldon did not elaborate, it is not hard to guess whose racial antennae would have quivered in horror over a man who had built rockets for Hitler.

Nevertheless, manned space activity is not yet dead. Work on the Shuttle continues, despite funding cuts and concerted Congressional opposition (one senator called it a "ferryboat to nowhere").

Skylab experiments demonstrated that space is an ideal workplace for many industrial processes, offering as it does a perfect vacuum and complete weightlessness. It is claimed that production of vaccines in orbit alone would pay back the Shuttle's development costs. Even without the Shuttle, modern society has come to depend so much on weather, communications, and military satellites that a minimum of space activity will inevitably continue. Another incentive for space research is the growing cold war between American and Soviet spy satellites.

GREATEST SPUR

The greatest spur to spaceflight, however, may come from the very nature of produce-and-consume society itself. As resources and energy grow scarce or less accessible, the alternatives look increasingly grim. The advanced nations cannot maintain their consumption levels forever or even for very long. The Third World has no hope of ever coming up to present-day American standards of living. Earth is simply too small and too limited. The only hope for produce-and-consume (or any technologically based culture) is to expand its

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Personal Letter from NF Chairman Andrew Brons to all NF Members

Dear Colleague,

It is both a duty and a pleasure to thank you for the loyalty and devotion you have shown to the NF during a period of very great difficulty for the party. During recent months heavy blows have rained on our young party, each designed to "finish off" the NF. The fact that the NF has not just survived but now looks set to thrive once again is due in no small measure to the steadfastness of loyal members like yourself.

I believe that a number of situations are starting to emerge which pose a great threat to the corrupt Establishment that has misruled our nation for so long and which present us with very great opportunities for advancement.

The appalling Bristol race riot in April was surely the 'writing on the wall' for all those who think that multi-racialism can flourish in Britain. The Westminster politicians, the media and the race relations industry tried to play down the significance of the Southall race riot last year in a cloud of allegations about "National Front provocation." But Bristol erupted without a whiff of NF involvement. If such a thing can happen in Bristol (of all places!) then the same — and worse — can be expected in Brixton, Handsworth, Moss Side, Leeds and numerous other cities.

The multi-racial society is cracking up — just as we always said it would. What is more, thanks to our demonstrations and electoral activity over the years and to the publicity which our work has won us, millions of our fellow Britons **know** that the NF, alone of all the parties, has warned of the racial catastrophe that is to come. **It is therefore essential that the NF survives in unity to reap the benefits of that public knowledge of our stand.**

Likewise the economic and industrial fabric of Britain faces collapse. All the major economic study groups admit this. Whole industries — whole towns — are closing down, and millions are being thrown out of work thanks to the impact of the Common Market, foreign imports and international financial usury. Again, we have long warned of this — and again, a big section of the public knows it.

It would clearly be the greatest disaster if when the crisis comes (a crisis that will wreck the credibility of the Westminster parties in the eyes of millions of ordinary people) the NF is not on the scene to give the leadership, a new direction and hope. **Thus the preservation of the NF as a unified and disciplined party is my paramount duty as Chairman of the party. It is also the primary task of our party's governing body, the NF National Directorate.**

It is therefore my, and the Directorate's, prime task to ensure that no member or group of members is ever again allowed to engage in personal power struggles, vendettas, or any other kind of destructive factional activities contrary to the terms and the spirit of our Constitution. We have in the past learned to our cost that factional in-fighting and bickering has done more to damage our party than any of the assaults of our external political and racial enemies.

So far as our internal affairs are concerned, you will remember that I did not campaign to achieve the Chairmanship of the NF. The previous Chairman, Mr. John Tyndall, resigned his office in January and refused to seek nomination in an election for the post a month later. Before this election I made it clear that I would withdraw my nomination if Mr. Tyndall decided to seek nomination, but he did not do so. Thus the honour of being Chairman of the party fell to me.

I hoped and expected that Mr. Tyndall was a big enough man to have rendered to me as Chairman, and to the party, his active support and loyal co-operation — especially since he chose to remain a member of the National Directorate. But I regret to have to report that he did not do so. On the contrary, he set about trying to create a faction within the party. This faction has now emerged under the leadership of Mr. Tyndall and his father-in-law, Mr. Charles Parker, as yet another splinter group **outside the party**, based at Mr. Parker's home at Hove, Sussex.

Mr. Tyndall has given a variety of baseless and, in some cases, personally defamatory reasons for trying to split the NF, but my personal knowledge of the true facts indicates that the nub of the matter is as follows:

Mr. Tyndall failed at the last NF AGM at Great Yarmouth in October, last year, to persuade the membership to vote to change our Constitution so as to give him as Chairman what many saw as dictatorial powers over the party. Instead of accepting the will of the membership, Mr. Tyndall confronted the National Directorate with an ultimatum in January. He demanded that the Directorate summon an Extraordinary General Meeting in order to enable him to re-submit

his demands for more powers. He said that unless the Directorate did vote to give him an EGM he would resign as Chairman. He also said that if the Directorate did vote to give him an EGM and the membership once again rejected his demands, then he would resign.

The Directorate saw no reason to call an EGM to reconsider matters that the membership had already settled by democratic vote at the last AGM. So the Directorate voted (with only two votes against) to reject Mr. Tyndall's call for an EGM. Thus Mr. Tyndall resigned as Chairman and refused to nominate himself in an election for the Chairmanship a month later, and so I was elected Chairman of the party unopposed.

Mr. Tyndall clearly expected the membership to erupt in his support in the face of these developments. But the majority of members are loyal to **the party** and did not do so. So in April Mr. Tyndall issued a disloyal petition to all party officials asking them to collect members' signatures demanding an EGM. After two months only 250 signatures had been collected. As a result of this failure to mobilise a membership revolt against the Directorate Mr. Tyndall clearly decided not to wait until the next AGM to test the will of the membership.

Had he been confident of the outcome of the AGM he would have waited for it. The fact that he has now decided to split from the party indicates that he did not wish to experience a further rejection of his demands by the membership at an AGM.

I am sure that you, like the majority of members, greatly regret any splintering of our membership. But if the NF is to survive, all its members must comply with our Constitution and must accept the will of the majority of the membership as expressed at an AGM. Our Constitution applies as much to me, the Party's Chairman, as it does to our newest teenage recruit. **Nobody** — whoever they are, no matter what past offices they have held — is above the Constitution. We had to deal very firmly last year with the 'Constitutional Movement' faction whose members flouted our rules. That is why the NF has survived their subversion. If the party is to continue to survive then this discipline must be applied **without exception**.

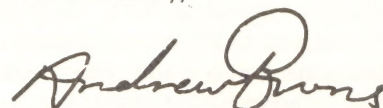
As I have toured Branches all over the country countless members have told me how sick and tired they are of factions, personal vendettas and power-seeking intriguers within the party. Members have told me: "We are sick and tired of internal bickering. We joined the NF to promote the cause of British Nationalism." That is exactly how I feel. Therefore I give you and every other member of the party this solemn promise:

On your behalf I am going to see to it that this year our party is rid of all factional troublemakers, is constructed on a basis of discipline and unity, and is directed once again to the path of stability and constructive political work.

When I became Chairman of the party earlier this year I issued a statement to members calling on them to give me their support in my efforts to rebuild the party on a sound and principled basis. I am grateful for the support that I have received from the vast majority of members. I now appeal for your continued loyal support in the future. I do not ask for loyalty to me as an individual, but loyalty to me **in the office of Chairman**, and loyalty to the National Directorate. The party does not belong to any one individual. It was not created to serve the personal power ambitions of any one individual. It was created to serve a great Cause: British Nationalism.

With your help, I am determined to serve that Cause and the courageous membership of our party to the very utmost of my ability.

Yours sincerely,



Andrew Brons,
Chairman, National Front.

... and a personal reply from John Tyndall

Dear Andrew,

We have reprinted your personal letter, recently sent to NF members, on the opposite page. We have done so because the letter deserves to be treated as a prize exhibit. For sheer evasion, red herrings and downright humbug, I have never read anything to equal it. I am therefore featuring it opposite in full and on this page writing my reply.

First I must congratulate you on the remarkable achievement of writing nearly 1,500 words about the latest division in the ranks of the National Front without once making reference to the main issue making for that division.

You know as well as I do the real reason for the action that I took last January in resigning as Chairman of the party and for my subsequent action in severing all political association with you and the present Directorate. This was that the Directorate has in its ranks certain sexual perverts, one of whom has been using his position in the party to make homosexual approaches to young male members of the party. I told you and the rest of the Directorate that if this was not dealt with quickly and ruthlessly, with these people, and in particular the best known and chief offender among them, being relieved of their offices in the party, there would be two certain consequences: (a) The party would remain hopelessly split internally; and (b) It would lose all political credibility with the British public.

The nearest you get anywhere to this issue is in your use of the words "baseless" and "personally defamatory". This is sheer dishonesty, Andrew, for you know very well that the accusations I have made about homosexuality are true. You never denied they were true when they were made but argued only that they did not matter and that these people's private lives were not the concern of the party — a view that left me thunderstruck when I heard it.

You state in your letter to the members that it is your and the Directorate's task to ensure that no member is allowed to engage in... vendettas or any kind of destructive... activities.

Well, I can only say that you have not performed that task very well to date. Sitting in your midst is the man who has pursued more vendettas of his own against other members of the party than everyone else put together. I know of dozens upon dozens of people, including some excellent nationalists, who have been driven out of the party by the maniacal hate campaigns of this one individual.

Furthermore, you know as well as I do that during last year, when the disciplinary hatchet was being applied with considerable severity against certain recalcitrant members, and officers, of the party, one member of the Directorate (the same) seemed to be totally immune from any disciplinary action, whatever he did. On no less than three occasions serious charges were brought against this person and on all occasions the Directorate tossed them contemptuously out. You say: "Nobody, whoever they are, no matter what past offices they may have held, is above the Constitution... discipline must be applied **without exception**." Wrong, Andrew, Martin Webster is above the Constitution and he is an exception — always.

It was through my experience of the Directorate's gross irresponsibility and pathetic weakness in not dealing with Webster and the appalling damage he was bringing on the party that I became convinced that I must seek the powers as Chairman to act where the Directorate had failed to act.

Your letter to the members is redolent with pious appeals for "unity" in the party. Do you really think you are the only one amongst us who wants unity, Andrew? Do you not think that that is what I and my colleagues are dedicated to too? Considering that I was working for unity among nationalists in this country at a time when you were still at school, and have ever since been

dedicated to keeping the NF together as the movement formed for that purpose, your attempt to don the halo of unifier and monopolise it for yourself and your own collaborators, and to depict our side as working for division, is just a non-starter.

A lot of us would take more seriously the sincerity of your appeals for unity were it not for the fact that last May, when I warned you that the party was heading for break-up and proposed that you and I and some others had a meeting to see how we could avoid this break-up, you treated our overtures with an air of arrogance and contempt and eventually wriggled out of that meeting.

The fact is that I have learned what you have not yet got around to learning, and this is that there is going to be no real unity in the National Front until Mr. Webster and his fellow boy-fanciers are dispatched from their positions of office.

You speak about your travels to branches all over the country. I don't know what branches you refer to but I am certain that you have travelled to nothing like the number of branches that I have over the past year. I know for a fact of a number of areas where you have never been seen, let alone talked seriously to the members there about internal party problems. The message that I have heard from these and countless other areas is that unity is going to remain a pipe-dream until Webster & Co. are removed.

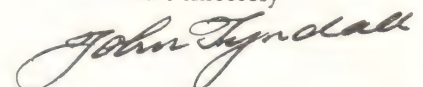
In one part of your letter you talk about the members settling internal issues by their democratic vote. This is precisely what I asked for them to be given the facility to do, Andrew, and what you and your friends on the Directorate would not allow them to do. I wanted an Extraordinary meeting to re-submit certain constitutional proposals to the members **in the light of the homosexuality issue and of my determination to resign if it was not dealt with** — a background of which the members were not aware at the AGM in Yarmouth. It seems to me elementary and fundamental that the members of the party should be given the right to decide whether they want to be part of a party that contains queers among its leaders. If they are given that right, and if they decide that they are happy with the queers, then I shall simply bow quietly out of the party and leave you all to it. Until then I am going to fight.

It seems to me, Andrew, that you are thoroughly frightened at the prospect of having this matter put to the members and decided by them. You were against a general members meeting when I pushed for one in January. Recently when I came to Leeds I challenged you to a debate on the issue before the local members and you refused my challenge. If you really consider your case to be right, why are you scared to have a debate?

By your stupid and inept management of this situation, you have succeeded now in driving 40 branches and groups of the party to declare in a majority their lack of confidence in the Directorate and their support for the New National Front. And this is only the start. Scores more have indicated to me that if this issue is not resolved constitutionally in a very short time they are coming over too. This is the consequence of the appalling misjudgement that you and your fellows on the Directorate made last January when you chose to close ranks with the homos and fight me.

There is still time, but not very much time, to undo the consequences of your own folly. There are two things that you have to sacrifice to this end. One is a gang of perverts; the other is your own personal egos and pride. Not too great a sacrifice when the survival of the National Front is at stake.

Yours sincerely



John Tyndall

BRITAIN'S RACIAL VOLCANO

Contrary to the popular belief, I have at no period spoken at all frequently on the subject of immigration to this country from the New Commonwealth and of the consequences which will flow from it in the future. Three speeches in any one year have been, I think, my highest frequency. But the past sixteen months have been the longest interval since 1967 during which I have held my peace upon that subject. It is a subject too grave to be staled by frequency or repetition; and I have thought fit to revert to it only when a new phase had opened or a new aspect had presented itself.

If I do so now in Dorking, a place virtually untouched by the changes which whole cities and regions have undergone in the last 25 years, that ought not to be an occasion for surprise. The subject is one pregnant with national consequences, out of which no locality, however opulent or secure, can contract, and for which, as Member for South Down, I bear, along with all other Members, no less responsibility than when I represented Wolverhampton South West.

When I look back over the past 15 years, I discern that there has been a continuing shift in the nature of public interest in this subject. As long ago as 1968 its importance for the future was widely and deeply recognised from one end of the country to the other, as was proved by the explosion of public concern — no milder metaphor would be appropriate — to which a single speech made in Birmingham in April of that year gave rise. At that time, however, and for long afterwards, concern for the future consequences was tempered by the belief that they could be averted — and, if government were brought to fulfill its public duty, would be averted — by virtual termination of New Commonwealth immigration, in the literal sense of the word immigration. In the speech I have referred to I expressly warned against that belief; but it must be admitted that it was greatly encouraged and long maintained by expressions which the Conservative Party officially used when seeking election to office in 1970 and, indeed, in 1979.

The alteration of public mood in more recent years presents the aspect of a paradox. On the one hand, fear of future catastrophe portended by what has happened has not only diminished but has hardened into a settled and widely held conviction.

Full text of
the speech by
ENOCH POWELL
at the Surrey
Monday Club
at Dorking
on July 11th
1980.



On the other hand, the hope, let alone the expectation, that everything will or can be done by those in authority to avert that catastrophe has dwindled almost to vanishing point with the passage of time and the procession of disappointments. The former mood of anger and alarm has been replaced by one of resignation and weary impotence: the inhabitants of Pompeii know that Vesuvius is an active volcano, but they believe there is no alternative but to continue living beneath it until the fatal eruption comes.

IMPACT OF BRISTOL

I shall not easily forget the scene in the House of Commons on the morning of Thursday 3rd April after the events in Bristol. It reminded me of Milton's description in *Paradise Lost* of the assembly of the fallen angels:

"All these and more came flocking,
but with looks
Downcast and damp."

The atmosphere of near panic was out of proportion to the actual magnitude of the riot, serious though that was, and novel though it was bound to appear because of the habitual suppression by the national press and other media of news of disturbances of a similar nature in such areas as South London or Central Birmingham. The thought which was unspoken inside the Chamber, but spoken by many outside, was: "Is this the beginning?"; and in case there should be room for misapprehension, the Chairman of the Commission for Racial

Equality referred specifically to the Bristol riot in a speech last month when warning of the prospect of repetition on an increasing scale.

Whatever criticisms can be levelled at the race relations industry in recent years, it cannot be accused of having been reticent or restrained as to the prospects of civil strife created by the change in the composition of the population of our cities. This ought to be sufficient, though it has not hitherto proved to be so, to protect others who share the same apprehensions against the charge of willing the outcome which they fear or of contributing to the fulfilment of their own forebodings. Anyhow, it is not surprising if predictions and projections which ten or even five years ago were regarded as fantastic, if not wicked, are now widely treated amongst the public as sober certitudes which lack only the precision of a specific date.

The cruel irony is that, as conviction of the danger has deepened, the desire in official quarters to assess the magnitudes involved and to consider the practicability of reversing the causes has progressively diminished. In years to come people will look back with astonishment upon a little-noted event which took place in Parliament on 29th April, less than a month after Bristol. In a debate late at night the House of Commons decided by 116 votes to a derisory 14 that the forthcoming census of 1981 should not be used to ascertain the size and distribution of what is now conventionally and officially described as the "New Commonwealth and Pakistan ethnic population". The present size of that population, let alone its perspective future size, is the sub-

ject of widely varying estimates. Yet the significance of this magnitude and the importance of accurate knowledge of it are not open to dispute; and no opportunity for ascertaining the current position is comparable with that which the census affords. Notwithstanding, the House of Commons apparently found no difficulty in deciding that it did not want to know. Almost unbelievably, the nation has been deliberately deprived of the means of distinguishing truth from falsehood, exaggeration from understatement, complacency from hysteria, in a matter admitted to be fraught with the deepest consequences.

The information we do still obtain will be increasingly inadequate; but perhaps on that account it is all the more disturbing. Since April 1969, on the registration of the birth of a child, the country of birth of both parents has been recorded. Like all such records, these are not quite complete. Moreover, country of birth is not an infallible indicator of ethnic origin. Nevertheless during the past 11 years these figures have provided almost the only hard fact in the entire scene. In the earlier part of that period they did indicate with reasonable accuracy what proportion of total births, place by place, were ethnically New Commonwealth and Pakistan — an expression which I hope you will henceforth permit me to initialise as NCWP. It is obvious, however, that with each year that has passed, more and more NCWP births have been, as they will be in future, to parents of whom both were themselves born here. Thus the proportions indicated by the registrar's returns will fall further and further below the real proportions, until eventually they become quite derisory.

COLOURED INCREASE

The registration figures are now published only annually and with a long delay. The latest available are for 1978. What is striking about them is that, despite the exclusion, which I have just explained, of an increasing number of NCWP births, the NCWP proportion has continued to increase. In England and Wales overall the proportion of births to NCWP mothers as a proportion of all births rose from 72 per thousand in 1976 to 78 in 1977 and to 81 in 1978 — one birth in every 12 — while in individual London boroughs the proportions continued to increase between 1977 and 1978: in Brent from 43 to 45 per-cent; in Lambeth from 30 to 32 per-cent; in Newham from 37 to 38 per-cent; and in Greater London as a whole from 21 to 22 per-cent — more than one birth in five. The projection is thus still pointing upwards, even while the series is progressively ceasing to be an adequate indicator. What a moment, it might be thought, to choose deliberately to dep-

rive ourselves of full information by excluding the census! At the very least the regulations governing the registration of births ought now to be amended so as to require the place of birth of grandparents as well as parents to be entered. This factual information indeed would be less open to objection than the question on 'ethnic origin' which was proposed for the census and rejected by Parliament.

The margin of error involved in converting statistics of place of birth to statistics of ethnic origin is not serious. It has in fact already been assessed and accepted by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys. Thus the ethnic pattern of births, as it builds up to a full generation (which may be taken as 25 years), can provide a reliable indication of the future ethnic composition of the whole population of a given area. In Birmingham, for instance, and in Wolverhampton there will soon have been recorded a proportion of NCWP births amounting to between 25 and 30 per-cent of the total over a whole generation. Assuming fertility and mortality to be uniform in all sections of the population (which many would think too complacent a hypothesis), this means a Birmingham or Wolverhampton of the future which will be at least one-quarter or one-third NCWP.

To that statement there are two qualifications and two only. The NCWP population may tend to disperse — resulting in a lower proportion locally — or it may tend to concentrate, with the opposite result. Ten or fifteen years ago there was a school of thought which confidently anticipated dispersal. Not only is there no evidence of this happening, but what evidence we now have is to the contrary. The official figures show that the areas with 15 per-cent or more births to overseas-born women accounted for 67 per-cent of all such births in 1976 but for 69 per-cent in 1977 and for 73 per-cent in 1978. This at least suggests that the inherently likely consequence — that an increase in total numbers leads to an increase in concentration — is in fact coming about.

The other qualification, which, like the first, implies that the birth proportions underestimate the relative size of the ultimate NCWP population, relates to immigration in the literal meaning of the word. The relative size, in total and area by area, of the NCWP population continues to be enhanced, in the present and for the future, by intake of NCWP residents and outflow of other residents. It is true that popular belief and vocabulary have not yet caught up with the fact that immigration is not now the major factor in the prospective increase of the NCWP population, absolutely or relatively. Nevertheless it is still a substantial factor. Here again we come to another area where wilful blindness has

prevailed. Until 1972 it was assumed, officially as well as unofficially, that the difference between the number of persons from various countries recorded as entering and as leaving the ports and airports of the UK was equivalent to the increase in the relevant numbers present in the country. In that year the discovery was made that the entry and departure statistics were of different quality and that the result of deducting one from the other was consequently unreliable. Surprisingly — or perhaps not — the consequence of this discovery was not a decision to improve the quality of the statistics so as to yield a reliable result. Not even when the movements in and out are recorded by computer will any effort be made to match the arrivals with the departures. All we are given, or shall be given, is the figure of those admitted for permanent residence or accepted for permanent residence subsequently. It is obvious that these figures cannot be related to the increase in any particular period, but equally obvious that in the long run they understate it; and the same applies also to estimates of migration made from samples taken by the International Passenger Survey.

ALTERATION IN POPULATION

On the basis of this evidence, however, such as it is, there was in the 10 years to the middle of 1978 an intake of 400,000 NCWP persons and an exodus of 740,000 others — that is, a cumulative alteration, by immigration and emigration, of 1,140,000 in the composition of the population; and though the volume of the two movements diminished spasmodically over the decade, there was still in the last of the ten years an intake of 30,000 and as exodus of 52,000. Figures of this magnitude must obviously over time increase the prospective proportion of the population, in total and in the localities of concentration, which will be NCWP.

There has from time to time been talk of virtually ending the net inflow. Twenty, fifteen years ago, that would have been practicable, and would have improved the future outlook radically. Today that is no longer so. The continuing intake, as I have shown, is no longer the basic factor which creates that outlook. It merely accelerates and reinforces it. Nor is it realistic to talk, in isolation, about "ending immigration". A resident NCWP population of the present dimensions irresistibly attracts additional numbers from among its own peoples back at home: that population is self-perpetuating and self-augmenting as inevitably, though on a lower scale, by continued immigration as by natural increase.

Contd. overleaf

BRITAIN'S RACIAL VOLCANO (Contd. from previous page)

I sum up. On the one hand, we are, and shall increasingly be, prevented by government decisions from observing in terms of published official figures the full and true extent of the change taking place in the population of our great cities and industrial areas. On the other hand, it can be asserted, with more danger of understatement than of exaggeration, that a future is now foreseeable already when one-third of the population of inner London and of those other centres of population will be NCWP. Great as the change is which has already taken place in the population pattern in the last 20 years, it is almost trivial compared with the further change which we can now foresee taking place as year succeeds year into the future. Well might it be said to those who already view the present with anxiety or alarm: **"you have seen nothing yet!"** If the race relations industry is warning now of "more Bristols" and organised rejection of the law enforcement authorities is openly advocated by self-constituted spokesmen of the NCWP, what reason is there to expect these symptoms to die away as the numerical change becomes ever more pronounced? Far less than the foreseeable NCWP ethnic proportion would be sufficient to constitute a dominant political force in the United Kingdom able to exact from government and the main parties terms calculated to render its influence still more impregnable. Far less than this proportion would provide the bases and citadels for urban terrorism, which would in turn reinforce the overt political leverage of simple numbers. The subservience which the media and political parties already demonstrate towards this element, in its present embryonic dimensions, is ominous for the future. We no longer need, at this time of day, to have it explained to us how minorities impose their will on majorities.

SEEKING REFUGE

Such is the spectacle which the people of Britain see rising up before them. In the face of it their representatives seek refuge in one of two directions — silence or fantasy. I have already illustrated the determination of governments to avoid establishing the present facts. That determination is equalled by the combined resolve of governments and oppositions in Parliament — bi-partisan in this, if in little besides — to avoid debate or discussion at all costs. Democratic leadership is never more irresponsible than in the face of dangers and problems which it thinks can be held at bay until at least after the next general elect-

ion. "Let's concentrate on winning the next election" is their rallying cry. "It will be time enough," they might add, "when we have enjoyed our spell of power and been gathered to our fathers in the odour of success and honours, for others to try to deal with these unpleasant, alarming

"Democratic leadership is never more irresponsible than in the face of dangers and problems which it thinks can be held at bay until at least after the next general election."

and intractable things." The answer ought to be: "No, it will not be time enough; for in the meanwhile, with the lapse of years, they become more unpleasant, more alarming, and in the end literally intractable." But to that retort those who sit in the seats of authority are determined to stop their ears.

They are abetted in doing so by the drug-pushers of fantasy, who tell the fairy tale that all the instincts and antagonisms, all the fears, the envies and the ambitions of humankind, can be dissolved and washed away by the application of sufficient money, extracted from the nation and spent by the state. In that nirvana where everyone has a lucrative and satisfying job, where every family is well and cheaply housed, where all complaints and wants have been attended to, the little details of who we think we are and by whom we are ruled will escape attention. When all are happy and all have enough, nobody will discriminate against anybody and no section will differentiate itself from any other section. It is the same old falsehood as was told to our fathers and the generations before them — that crime and violence would vanish as the standard of living rose. It was not true, and it is not true. The causes of evil and the sources of danger lie elsewhere and deeper than in material production and consumption: experience and the face of the world are witness to that.

So what are we, the people at large, to do in the face of the silence and blindness of our leaders and the false nostrums and promises of those who apparently monopolise the channels of communication? We asked, years ago, for immigration to be ended, and those whom we asked refused us or cheated us. What was too difficult fifteen years ago for parties or politicians to do, has now ceased to be sufficient or relevant or practicable. Who then is likely even to listen, let alone to respond, to the proof that nothing short of major movements of population can shift the lines along which we are being carried to disaster? That is the question which millions in Britain today are silently asking themselves and answering with the reply of despair: "there is nothing we can do." It is a ques-

tion to which I must offer my own answer, implicit already in what I have said this evening.

The first step is to force our representatives to find the facts. They have refused to give us a census. They have refused to measure the changes in the population.

They have connived in allowing what sources of information still exist to dry up. Above all, they have refused to debate and to stand question. If the reasoning and the projections which I have again put forward this evening are mistaken, will they explain where and why they are erroneous and substitute their own reasoning and projections so that we can check the outcome against the expectation? If, on the other hand, that reasoning and those projections cannot be refuted, will they say what they believe the consequences will be and whether and why they accept and tolerate those consequences?

CONCLUSIONS

It would be unreasonable to expect that, against the record of the last twenty years, any government or party could move directly to the conclusions which must flow from accepting as fact the prospective change in the population of the capital city and of the great cities of England. What is fully reasonable, fully possible and fully within the power of the electorate to obtain from their elected representatives, if they so determine, is that, as the events unroll, as 'Bristol' succeeds 'Bristol', as one intimidation follows another, governments and parties should be compelled to disclose the facts and to debate the implications. In a parliamentary nation it is out of the friction between experience and debate that the necessary resolves are generated. Necessity provides for all nations the means of survival and of defending themselves against the consequences of even their own past errors. But necessity will not do this until it is rendered undeniable. The first step to salvation is for our leaders to be made to face fact.

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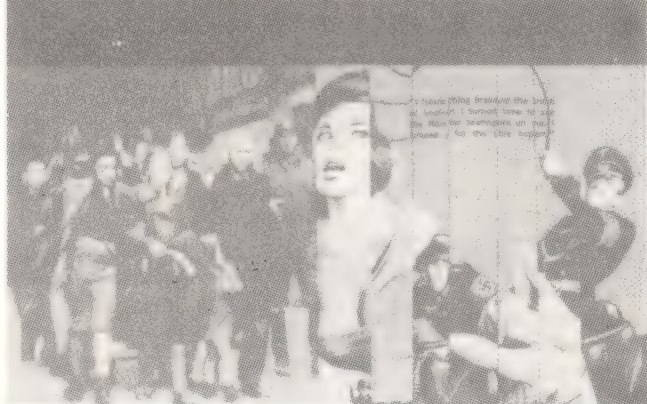
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THOUGHT FOR THE MONTH

England is the only power in which the Fronde triumphed but which nevertheless was able to stay in condition for the greater political battles introduced by the State-idea. This was owing solely to England's island situation. The geopolitical security conferred on England by its insular existence enabled it to dispense with the strict centralisation of inner power demanded by the State-idea, without at the same time ceasing to exist as a political unit, as did Germany. When Wallenstein and the Imperial State-idea lost, all was lost for Germany for two centuries. But

Cromwell's victory, which destroyed the State-idea in England, substituting for it the idea of "Society", did not spell ruin for England, simply because other better organised States were not able to invade it as long as it maintained an adequate naval establishment. To keep up a sufficiently large fleet did not require political centralisation, and thus England survived the era of absolutism without an absolute State.

FRANCIS PARKER YOCKEY
(*'Imperium'*)

Our magazine, though it believes in racial differences, opposes race-hatred. All those who oppose multi-racialism should attack the politicians who promote it, not the immigrants, who are merely its victims.

SPEARHEAD FUND

As stated in our April issue, we have a deficit of nearly £400 as a result of bad debts owing to us. We need to raise this money to meet our own financial commitments. We ask our readers and supporters to give generously in order that we may raise the money quickly. Please make out your postal orders or cheques to Spearhead, and send them to: Seacroft, 52 Westbourne Villas, Hove, Sussex.

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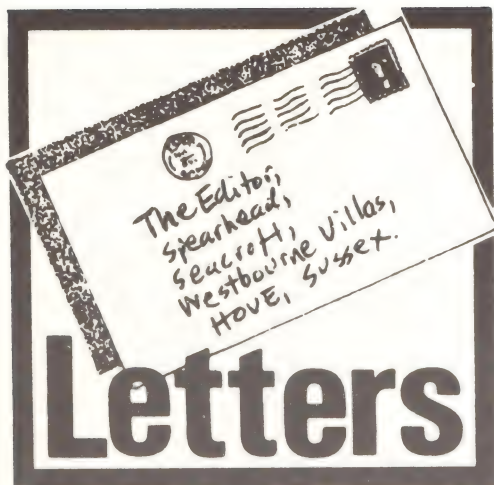
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SIR: A photograph appearing in the papers recently showed that nothing has changed in respect of the Tories' weak and pussyfooting attitude towards the Northern Ireland troubles. This was of two masked IRA gunmen attending a public rally carrying their guns.

When these thugs are allowed to parade publicly in a part of the United Kingdom in this way and not be arrested, how on earth are we to believe that the Government has any real will to fight and destroy terrorism in our country?

T. R. SMYTH
Bangor, Co. Down

SIR: Britain's respectable performance in the athletics events in the Moscow Olympics should not lead us to celebrate too loudly. Apart from one gold medal in the swimming, her performance in most of the other events was pitiful.

We still do not seem to be able to decide in this country whether we are going to come to terms with the professionalism of modern sport, and organise ourselves professionally to win, or carry on in the old lackadaisical amateur fashion that is traditional to this country — in which case we should withdraw from the Olympics and stop getting humiliated.

J. BERRY
Bristol

SIR: Whatever current conflict Spearhead may have with the present National Front Directorate, I am sure you will agree with me that the party has been treated appallingly by the West Midlands police authorities and Home Secretary in being prevented from staging a perfectly lawful march in that area — just because their opponents threatened a breach of the peace. It makes a mockery of the claim that this country is a 'democracy'.

As the march was, I understand, in protest against unemployment, it could not even be argued that it was racially provocative.

Reports of the numbers on the march

vary between 400 and 500. Whichever is correct, it is a sad reflection on the party's decline and confirms what Spearhead has said about this. Quite a short time ago 1,500 would have been the minimum expected on such an occasion.

B. S. MANN
Wonersh, Surrey

SIR: Your American correspondent's summary of Ronald Reagan was interesting. I do not know whether his analysis of the likely next U.S. President is correct or not. What I do know is that even if Reagan has genuinely good intentions, he is bound not to be able to put them into practice. The forces arrayed against him in America would be too strong.

The United States is like Britain. One patriotic politician, whether it be Reagan or Powell, can do nothing on his own when all powerful and established institutions are against him. The sort of change that is needed in both countries is a change of institutions first and foremost; only through such a change can the right individuals come to the top. This sort of change will take careful and determined organisation extending over many years, and in this regard we must not be too proud to learn from the techniques of our opponents.

V. YATES (Mrs.)
Cromer, Norfolk

SIR: It looks as if a bit of the old John Bull spirit was displayed by some British holiday travellers on the quay at Cherbourg when they charged and dispersed a mob of French fishermen who were trying to prevent them getting onto their ship home.

I would like to think that this spirit prevailed in other matters affecting the British people but I am sceptical. It seems that some of us are prepared to stand up assert ourselves when our holiday travel is being inconvenienced but not to do so over much more important matters — such as the alien take-over of large parts of our country.

A. T. PATON
Dundee

SIR: I read with great interest your comments on the current moves being made by the Common Market to eliminate national 'bias' in history teaching in our schools. The whole scheme is a total nonsense.

There is no such thing as history without bias of some sort or another. Every historian is going to colour his chronicles of events with his own particular interpretation of the goodness or badness of them. Supposing we obtain the agreement of all historians in the future to eliminate any interpretations of European history which favour one nation or another, that is not going to eliminate bias; it is only going

to transfer bias onto another level; instead of accounts of past events being coloured from a nationalist point of view, they are obviously going to be coloured from a pan-European point of view. That will not bring them any closer to the truth.

It all makes you realise that Henry Ford was not being entirely facetious when he proclaimed that "History is bunk!"

J. W. OLIVER
Ripon, Yorks

SIR: Thank you for keeping me in touch with things. I agree with what you say regards the present state of affairs in the NF.

However, I intend putting forward a resolution at the AGM in October to change the present system of election along the lines you suggested at the last AGM.

Our branch intends to discuss the whole situation again after the AGM. We will continue to support Spearhead.

After the AGM I will be joining the NNF and I shall do all I can to bring all of the branch with me.

N. F. BRANCH ORGANISER
Name and address supplied

SIR: In these troubled times for the National Front we would do well to recall the words of A. K. Chesterton, written in 1972 at the time of a previous division:—

"... my advice to enquirers in such a predicament is to follow the best man. By far the best in my view is John Tyndall, now fully mature — a sound, upright, sincere man, equable in temperament, cool in judgement and with the making in him of a very fine leader. Indeed, he will prove himself a great — one would almost say a superhuman — leader should he be able to forge ahead with some of his present associates. He will find that the organisation he has taken over can only be run on a tight reign, and that every time the curb is used the atmosphere around him will become toxic with the resentment of essentially small people with hugely inflated egos. As two men can now attest, it is not a pleasant job."

I might add to this that many of the "present associates" referred to by Mr. Chesterton are still there, with the particular one he had mainly in mind now in virtual control of the Directorate. If there is to be any criticism of Mr. Tyndall now, it is that he attempted to work with these people for so long.

J. RUSSELL
Hastings, Sussex

In the short time since our last issue the New National Front has made rapid strides towards its objective of winning over the bulk of the old party. There are now 40 branches and groups all over the country that have elected by majorities of their members to support the New NF.

From many more units of the party messages have been received which indicate that they too are likely to follow the New NF in the near future. Some of these are waiting to convene full members' meetings after the Summer holidays; some are delaying their move until after the September party elections to the National Directorate. These branches and groups have informed us that most of their members are likely to come over too if those elections do not result in the removal from the Directorate of certain individuals who have plagued the party.

In addition to these units, there are many other people who had previously dropped out of the NF who are now joining the New NF. Last month we printed a selection of letters from some of these people.

Since then many more letters have arrived that are in similar vein.

It is hoped that for the future Spearhead will need to devote less space to the contentious internal party matters that have led to the formation of the New National Front and more space to real political content — which after all is the main purpose of its existence. We make no apology, however, for having given much of the space in recent issues to these matters of internal controversy; it was necessary to do so, notwithstanding that it made our magazine a less saleable commodity to the general public. We obviously prefer, as do our readers, constructive comment.

New NF makes big strides

We have made our case for the support we have given to the setting up of the New National Front and there is nothing left to be said that has not already been said adequately. From now on the emphasis will be on the constructive build-up of the reformed party. Only if circumstances necessitate will we devote space towards argument with the supporters of the NF Directorate.

A TALE OF FOUR MEETINGS

At the end of July New NF Chairman John Tyndall made a brief trip to the North of England to speak to gatherings of party members in Bolton and Leeds.

The Bolton meeting was attended by about 50 members from branches and groups in the North Western Region. Mr. Tyndall spoke to the members about the reasons why the New National Front had been set up and at the end of the meeting a motion of support for the New NF was proposed and this was carried overwhelmingly, with no votes against and a few abstentions.

The following evening (July 31st) Mr. Tyndall spoke to a gathering in Leeds. At this meeting too there was overwhelming support for the New NF.

Prior to the Leeds meeting great pressures had been put on local members by Mr. Andrew Brons, who lives in nearby Harrogate, not to attend the New NF meeting, and members were threatened with expulsion if they did attend. When Mr. Tyndall heard of this he sent an invitation to Mr. Brons suggesting that the best procedure would be for the two leaders to have a debate on the issues of internal division before all the Leeds members. Mr. Brons declined this invitation.

What was then heard was that the NF Directorate, clearly frightened at the home truths that would be heard by Northern members at the Bolton and Leeds meetings, had organised their own meetings to take place in the same areas on the same evenings, clearly with a view to drawing members away from the Tyndall

meetings. To add to the attraction of the rival meetings, nationally known speakers were brought up from London and film shows were laid on, while at the rival Leeds meeting Mr. Brons was there to speak in person. At the same time the threats of disciplinary action were repeated. Every possible effort was made to dissuade NF members from going and hearing Mr. Tyndall.

In the outcome 30 people were present at Mr. Tyndall's meeting in Leeds while 21 attended the nearby meeting addressed by Mr. Brons. Further developments that have

taken place since these meetings indicate that the majority of Leeds NF members are going to support the newly established New NF branch which has been set up under the leadership of Mike Gibson.

If Leeds is won over to the New NF, as now seems likely, most of West Yorkshire will follow. With Hull and Grimsby units on our side too, this means most of the large and important Yorkshire and Humberside region.

At the time of going to print we do not have precise figures for the attendance at the rival meeting in the Lancashire area but what is known is that it was much smaller than at the New NF one at Bolton.

Activity plans

At a forward planning conference in London on Saturday, August 2nd, a programme of organisation and activity for the New National Front was discussed. The scope of the conference covered the period up to the end of 1980.

John Tyndall, acting as Chairman of the meeting, emphasised the need for an extensive campaign of activities ranging over the remainder of the year. To this purpose an Activities Committee was set up under the Chairmanship of David Bruce. The committee has planned a series of meetings and social events aimed at rallying party members and bringing the message of the New National Front to the British public. These will be announced to members by means of bulletins.

Mr. Charles Parker has been appointed head of the Branch Liaison Department of

the New National Front and will be in charge of co-ordinating the party's growing network of regions, branches and groups.

The next step, which is being worked on at the moment, is the formation of an efficient Publicity Department, which will be responsible for the output of leaflets and other publicity material. Already the NNF has produced a Policy Statement, which is a replica of the Policy Statement of the old National Front (which document was mainly written by John Tyndall). Also available are three leaflets, which are near replicas of old NF leaflets. These are: 'What's the difference?' (an analysis of the similarity of policies between the old parties and the contrast with those of the NF/NNF); 'Fed up?' (an old party favourite); and 'The old parties are letting British industry die' (a leaflet aimed at the unemployed).

Support from S.A.

The following report appeared recently in BEHIND THE NEWS, the newsletter published by the distinguished South African journalist and author Ivor Benson.

National Front Clean-Up

There are reasons to hope that the leadership problems that have bedevilled the British National Front party on and off for years will be solved quite soon, as a result of the resolute and clear-sighted action of the party's one-time chairman, John Tyndall.

Realising that there was no chance of reforming the National Front from within, Tyndall decided recently to launch a "New National Front", attracting within a few hours of its debut the public support of some 30 prominent officers of the original National Front.

What has happened is explained in the June issue of *Spearhead*, the monthly journal which, although serving as a mouthpiece of the NF, has remained free from direct party control:

"When John Tyndall was re-elected to the party leadership in September, he saw his first task as being to repair the divisions in the party and lead it back to unity. As Mr. Tyndall saw it, this required first of all a re-organisation at the top of the party and some changes of personnel".

Spearhead goes on: "He had become aware of a homosexual network operating within the party which included certain members of the Directorate. The scandal resulting from the homosexual activities of one particular Directorate member had caused deep divisions in the party and had seriously embarrassed its publicity by becoming the subject of comment in the national press".

The Directorate declined to give the chair-

man and leader, John Tyndall, the powers he needed, so he resigned.

Although apparently alone and out on a limb after his resignation as chairman of the national directorate of the National Front, it is obvious that John Tyndall was able to act from a position of considerable strength, voting at the last national congress having demonstrated that he enjoyed massive rank-and-file sympathy and support.

It can be expected, therefore, that the launching of the New National Front will hasten the disintegration of the old NF under its present divided leadership.

Experience has shown that in all the present circumstances, it is no more possible to run a party like the National Front with executive power in the hands of a directorate than it is possible to run a warship with a committee.

What is required is a leader armed with the power to make instant and important decisions, controllable only to the extent that constitutional machinery exists for his removal if he fails to produce the desired results. Such a concentration of executive power is no more than is granted to chief executive officers in large modern financial, commercial and industrial organisations.

John Tyndall was thus wise not to remain in a situation in which, as national leader, he would have to bear full responsibility for the policies and actions of a group over whom he could exercise the minimum of influence.

The cultural history of the people of the West contains many examples of situations in which the decisive element in effective leadership was not strength and cleverness - although these are always necessary - but moral sentiment, a deep instinct for what is right and decent and honourable.

THE ROAD TO INFINITY

(Contd. from page 9)

range and tap new resources. The only place left is space, and the figures for asteroid mining and solar power satellites look enticing. Sooner or later, we will have to extend our economic reach into space or even Minneapolis will look like Calcutta.

Unfortunately, space development offers no quick and easy solution to the problem of overpopulation. Earth is the only planet in the solar system where masses of people can live without technically sophisticated and expensive life-support systems. Due to the immense distances involved, other solar systems will be out of reach for a long time. Colonies may be established on the moon, city-sized and free-floating colonies may be constructed at stable points of the moon's orbit. Mars and Venus may be made habitable by massive planetary engineering projects. But at present rates of population increase even they would not be enough to accommodate the earth's population explosion over the long term. Besides, the technologically able people are not the ones who are proliferating, and they are the only ones who could establish and maintain complex artificial habitats. Life based on mud huts and rice paddies leaves plenty of margin for error. A space colony filled with the *canaille* of Bombay or the population surplus of an

American inner city would end up as a vast orbiting tomb. Elevators in public housing frequently break down because ghetto youths use them for urinals (rotting the insulation of the wiring and causing short circuits). What would these vandals do to the delicate life-support systems of a fragile space colony?

Some of the most important battles for space will have to be fought and won here on earth. As Willis Carto wrote:

Our venture to infinity will be very shortlived if we come home to a rapidly degenerating human species; to nights that crawl with the prowling of depraved, raceless savages, with only barred doors keeping the jungle out of the laboratory and the boudoir until day breaks... to impossible taxes to support degenerative "welfare" schemes that are deliberately designed to proliferate the unfit and inferior at the expense of the productive and creative....

More to the point, a song briefly popular in the mid-1960s, "Eve of Destruction," mentioned a space mission that had lasted four days, then concluded cynically, "But when you get back, it's the same old place." That says it all. If it's the same old place, Northern European spacemen may not want to come back. Since the earth has always been an albatross around their necks, they may want to stay out there -- out there in the freedom of infinity where they can finally be themselves.

A COMMENTARY ON POWER STRUGGLES

THOSE WHO lament despairingly over the sight of British nationalists today being divided in struggles for leadership and power should remember that they are witnessing a tendency that is as old as the first beginnings of organised society, animal as well as human.

Kingship in the tribal groupings of our early ancestors was generally established on the basis of physical combat, with the tribal King proving himself able to outfight all rivals for the throne. His position remained secure just for as long as he, or those loyal to him, were able to maintain this physical supremacy. When the King himself grew to an age at which he was past being able to outfight his rivals personally, that role was undertaken by his son, or sons, if he had any, the strongest of whom could expect normally to be his successor. If he grew old without producing any such sons, his days as King were liable to be numbered.

As man and society developed upwards from the very primitive, additional qualities were needed for the maintenance of power and command: intelligence, cunning, charisma and psychological insight — as well as powers of organisation — were required to supplement the physical; and of course courage became a vital commodity. This stage represented the origins of what we now call politics.

Laws in the animal world were, and still are, strikingly similar. As is illustrated by Robert Ardrey in his book *African Genesis*, practically all animal species have a well developed form of social organisation, with leadership going to those endowed with certain dominant qualities basically similar to those among humans. In the animal world, as in the human, challenges to leadership would always occur and had to be dealt with through the prevailing form of combat. If the challenge succeeded, new leadership — or kingship — was established, and thenceforth had to maintain itself by the same rules against all challenges from below.

CHANGED

In the human world, and particularly in the advanced societies of the West, we have developed a long way from these early times and the attributes of leadership and power have accordingly changed. Disputes are no longer settled, at least at the individual level, by physical combat, and phys-

ical prowess is now only important in the form of the physical stamina needed to survive periods of hard work and stress. The whole armoury of kingship has become much more sophisticated.

But this does not mean that the basic laws of society do not remain as they always were. Society now, as always, consists of the multitude who are content to follow and the minority who aspire to lead and rule. And there is now, as always, struggle and conflict between the members of this minority for the position of primacy.

Looked at from a very broad historical point of view, there is an underlying logic and reason behind this process — which works in contradiction to the apparent unreason in it as seen by the rationalist. Through the process a system of selection operates by which the stronger and better gravitate to the top. The process can thereby be seen to have a positive evolutionary effect, and this is indeed the foundation of all true aristocracy.

This is not the same as saying, however, that in every instance power struggles have an immediately beneficial consequence by reason of their replacing the vanquished by the victor (or victors). On occasions the very reverse can happen.

When a man of strength, courage and charisma is installed as King of the tribe, it takes a man of a greater aggregate of these qualities to overthrow him. Beside whatever personal and subjective charisma the King may possess, he has in addition the charisma of his position and rank — of his status as King and the awe and veneration that naturally inspires in the tribe. For a rival candidate for the kingship to come forward and challenge this openly by proclaiming his own right to the throne was something which in itself took no little courage, thus establishing straightaway at least one of the credentials required in his sought-after role. If, having issued the challenge, the rival contender was then able to overcome the established King in battle (with the tribe as witness to the maintenance of the correct rules and chivalry of the battle) he enhanced his credentials yet further, and usually decisively. He would then take upon himself the charisma of established kingship — until such time as a new challenger emerged, who could only assert his claim by a demonstration of the same qualities.

Unhappily for mankind, this principle — the aristocratic principle — is not the only

means by which struggles for power and primacy are waged. From the very earliest tribes and societies, other methods were available whereby kingship could be toppled and power exchanged.

There have always been those with the egotism and ambition to wield power but without the personal qualities necessary for the task: without personal courage, strength or charisma of an order to match the King and without the intelligence to challenge him in any man-to-man test of that commodity.

Lack of these attributes, however, have not deterred such people from action. It has simply meant that what no one of them has been able or willing to attempt individually groups of them have attempted, sometimes with success, to do collectively.

And the method employed has invariably been, not that of open, manly combat, but of conspiracy and deceit.

And where power has changed hands by this process the effect has always been regressive. Power comes to rest in the hands, not of a recognisable, accountable authority, but of a comparatively anonymous group. When a decision is made which has adverse consequences for the society or tribe, any member of the group can wriggle out of responsibility by blaming the others. Such were the primitive beginnings, and such is the spirit, of what we now call democracy and parliamentarism. In another way, so were they the beginnings, and are they the spirit, of communism.

As indicated before, time has brought about changes in the weapons of political warfare but not in the basic rules and human tendencies that manifest themselves in that warfare.

OPEN DEBATE

The modern equivalent of manly physical combat between kingship contenders is open and honest debate — with the issues of contention freely and frankly aired in front of those whose support is being sought. The modern equivalent of victory in that combat is the judgement of the majority as to who has presented the best case and who manifestly is the best man.

Were power struggles decided in this spirit and according to this rule, their overall effect would be an evolution forward. Because so often they are decided in a different spirit and according to different rules their effect is the opposite.

It is at this point that it is apposite to return to the topic on which this article began: the power struggles in the camp of contemporary British nationalism. These can reflect either the natural aristocratic,

Contd. overleaf

POWER STRUGGLES

(Contd. from previous page)

or the democratic and communistic, principles of change.

At the annual conference of the National Front in 1970 the then leader of the party, A.K. Chesterton, was given a unanimous mandate to carry on in his elected post. No-one at that meeting challenged him. No-one staked an open claim to be leader instead of him.

A short time after his re-election he was obliged to travel to South Africa and stay there for five months for reasons of health. This fact was known to the members of the party when they re-elected him because he made no attempt to conceal it. Notwithstanding this handicap, they nevertheless wished him to carry on because they believed him the best man for the job.

No sooner had Mr. Chesterton left for South Africa than a gang of conspirators met together and set to work to topple him from his post. Not one of them individually was able to match him in leadership qualities but they proceeded on the basis that the total of them working collectively could muster enough weight to pull him down.

The crime of these people did not consist of the fact that they sought a change in the leadership of the party; as members of the party they were quite entitled to do so.

Their crime consisted of the fact that not one single one of them had the guts to get up at the annual conference of that year and say to the members: "I think I can lead the party better than A.K. Chesterton — vote for me!"

Had any such person done so, he might have been defeated in the ensuing vote, but at least he would have been entitled to respect.

He would have been entitled to respect in the same way as would the man who, in more primitive times, challenged the King in open combat and lost, having fought the good fight.

In that particular leadership struggle I had no hesitation in supporting A.K. Chesterton. This was by no means because I always thought him right — I often did not and was the first to tell him so — it was because, believing as I did in the natural aristocratic principle of leadership, I knew very well that he was far and away the best leader that we had at the time and that in an open and honest leadership contest he would lick the hide off anybody who stood against him.

CHALLENGED

Four years or so later another leadership struggle took place in the party. As one of the contestants in that struggle, I challenged the other contestant, Kingsley Read, to meet me in open debate before the members of the party and let them decide who should lead. His response was not an acceptance but just a tirade of abuse.

He did not last long.

Over the past year the National Front has been racked with a series of internal disputes and tensions and as part of these there has been a fresh batch of contestants bidding for leadership. All of them have at one time or another during the year indulged in the pastime of knocking me in the various circulars that they have sent out for the enlightenment of the party members.

But when it has come to the time-honoured test of meeting me and defeating me in open combat, they have either failed the test or run away from it. In a leadership ballot of the whole membership last September the then rival contestant for my position as party Chairman obtained 38 per cent of the votes cast as against my 62 per cent.

At least it might be said for this man, Andrew Fountaine, that he had the courage to challenge me in an open contest. This cannot be said for two others, namely Tony Reed-Herbert and Andrew Brons, who have been busy at various times during the last year attacking me in circulars. On each

occasion when I challenged these gentlemen to meet me in debate before party members, they refused the challenge.

For some time before my resignation as Chairman of the NF I had had repeated trouble with one particular member of the National Directorate, who was in the habit of challenging and seeking to undermine my authority on one occasion after another. Eventually, having had more than enough, I put it to this member that if he really thought he knew better how to run the party than I did the logical course for him to adopt was to put his name on the ballot for the party Chairmanship in September and ask the members to vote for him instead of for me.

Needless to say, he never did this but continued, both at and away from Directorate meetings, to argue the toss with me over every imaginable thing and to dispute my right as leader of the party to steer the party in the direction that I thought fit.

It is against this background that I have come to form certain simple and straightforward principles for the resolution of power struggles within the party. They boil down to this: that those who feel they are better equipped to hold positions and exercise power than others should be prepared to stake their claims in the open and above-board arena of debate and election before the whole party — just as in ancient times those who wished to be King or Chief of the tribe had resort to the method of proving themselves against their rivals in honest combat.

Then when the leadership of the party has been decided on this basis, the man who is chosen should be given the power to lead properly so that he can later be held responsible for the party's ups and downs.

If we can all agree on these principles the party can become united tomorrow. If we are not united, it is because so many of those who like to play the power game within the party are not men enough to stand up and fight openly for the rank and status that they crave.

Find out about the New National Front

Send 20p for information pack.

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